5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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361 Cubeo do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invi-
[83] tation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for
casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the
garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the
123 Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
361 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
831 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
244 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and
everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was defi-
nitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual
significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man
was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is
361 both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
831 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
[84] Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[85] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are
no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual
hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
24 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihi*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[27] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[24] cultivated trees—orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco,
mihi, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from
the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then
regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that be-
longs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukiwa*
and its neighboring subsibs no maize was planted.[3] This

[3] When Koch-Grünberg was on the Cuduiari, in 1903, he observed that the up-river communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cuduiari communities (1909, II, 82). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch-Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *ayad*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo